1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

114 "the Europeans of Magumeri." This pattern involved interviewing and visiting
123 households in Magumeri and its surrounding hamlets during the morning, asking
124 questions about household life, farming, and the social relations within the household and between its members and the wider community. Along with attendance at ceremonies, these morning activities came to be defined locally as my "work." My wife, not a trained anthropologist, visited a number of her women friends in the mornings, and looked after household matters. However, she was a part of Magumeri women's society, and we gained insights from her friendships that would have been difficult for a man to achieve by himself. In the afternoon we very often visited with a group of the young men who were associates of the school teacher. They became our intimate friends, and were defined locally as such. During these sessions, we participated in the conversation, or listened, often breaking in to ask questions about the meaning of some event being discussed. Sometimes data collected elsewhere in the mornings, would be discussed with our friends—hiding the identity of the informant when possible—in order to more fully understand what it was that had been collected.

114 This rather regular schedule was punctuated with visits to see the district head, visits to other villages, and a trip into Maiduguri, the capital, every month for a day or two to obtain supplies for the household. Special events such as the visit of another chief, or a touring British official, also broke the regularity of our days. But in general time stopped. We were without newspapers, radio, television, and even our mail was collected only when we went in once a month to the city. In this way, news from the world outside Bornu reached us first through Kanuri perspectives. Thus when the Suez crisis began in 1957 we heard of it from a young cattle inoculator who was living in Magumeri and had brought a battery radio with him. He told us and a large crowd that the British had attacked and "were killing the Muslims," but that the Russians and the Chinese were supporting the Muslims and were going to kill all the British. For days we were asked the relative population figures of Great Britain, Russia, and China, and really did not get the story straight ourselves for a day or so.

114 Later, after more than ten months of fieldwork, I began thinking of gather-
125 ing some questionnaire data on farming, marketing, status rating of occupations,
124 and family budgets. The latter was attached to morning visits and became a part of the work in each household. A field assistant already trained in gathering statistical data on crops asked a set of questions of seventy-five farmers in three villages, including Magumeri, where he was carrying on a fertilizer demonstration. Later this same young man did some work collecting information on kinship behavior among a number of people throughout Bornu. Much later still, after we moved to the capital, we asked school officials there to allow us to question the Maiduguri school children which we did *en masse* using the help of school teachers and Dr. and Mrs. Rosman. All the pupils were asked questions about the status rating of occupations, and about their marriage preferences with particular ethnic groups. These questionnaire data were extremely useful since they could be utilized to check some major conclusions concerning a whole series of attitudes, as well as economic and kinship behavior which involved a great deal of variation across the population. However it is important to note that such highly selective data collection had to be done at the end of the field trip when we knew what questions to ask and could interpret answers in light of our broader understanding of the cultural context.

128 erally which was discussed in the previous chapter. At times,
• [125] quantitative data will be presented on a sample of 44 individuals, representing various selected social categories (see further definition of this sample given in Chapter 4).

1. Farming.

42 All land belongs, in theory, to the Shehu and is distributed by Lowans through the authority given them by the Shehu. A man living in the town of Geidam has a right to land surrounding the town, should he wish to make a farm. Such land becomes his in the sense that no one else can farm there, and it is inherited [451] by his children like other forms of property. Any man who pays the property tax (haraji) in Geidam has a right to land. A newcomer to the town who desires land to farm asks a Lowan for a [311] plot of land. Since all farm land up to two miles from the edge of the town is farmed by those previously settled in the town, land given to newcomers is uncleared brush far from the town it- [662] self. However, by paying a sum to the Lowan, a man may be assigned land which is much closer and therefore more desirable. Unused sites become available when people leave Geidam.

House sites come under the same provisions as farm land. If a man wishes to build a house in Geidam he must first ask the permission of the Lowan in whose ward he seeks to build his house. If he wishes to build on unoccupied land he must pay a [435] sum to the Lowan. The sum may vary from three to ten shillings, depending on the man's means. A man can sell a house which he

124 565 463 gory, including many sorts of individuals, but limited here to those who are not full-time specialists, yet perform some non-skilled activity in addition to farming. Eight members of this category were chosen for study.

[559] 8. Low-status Individuals - a social category made up of specialists who traditionally have a low status in Kanuri culture. These are full-time specialists, who usually learn their specialty from their fathers. Four members of this category were chosen for study.

124 The forty-four individuals in the eight groups and categories who make up the sample for the present study are found listed in Table XIII. Though it would have been desirable to have chosen the individuals making up the sample through some randomizing method, which would have eliminated the possibility of the selection of informants who are good examples of the author's thesis, this was not possible because of the conditions
125 of field work. As will be explained in the following section, data on acculturation was obtained from each of these forty-four informants through a long questionnaire which took two hours to administer and which included a number of questions dealing
124 with sensitive topics. It was necessary to establish close relations with each of the forty-four individuals included in the present study before he could be used as an informant. This eliminated the possibility of choosing informants in a random way. It may be added, however, that the author was well aware of this problem at the time that the study was done. He consciously tried to handle the problem of bias by selecting as informants individuals who were good examples of the group or

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 242]

124 the part of the investigator with respect to the variable of acculturation can have played little or no part in obtaining the present results, since the various groups and categories which were used in the study themselves differ in the areas of culture in which they are acculturated. There is no simple division into acculturated and unacculturated groups.

2. Measures of Acculturation.

121 114 Much of the year spent in the field in the town of Geidam was devoted to work in two problem areas: delineation of community social structure, which was described above, and working out measures of acculturation. In the final three months spent in Geidam the actual data on which the present study is based [122] were collected. Until that time it was necessary to acquire a general understanding of Kanuri culture, to learn the language, and to see the areas in which Kanuri culture was most affected by external influences.

125 124 Data on acculturation were acquired through a questionnaire-interview, administered in Kanuri to forty-four informants. The questionnaire comprises seventy-five parts, many of these long and complex questions requiring discursive answers. It took approximately two hours to interview each informant.

125 177 Thirty of the seventy-five questions were concerned with measures of acculturation. These are presented in Table XIV. It can be seen that the measures of acculturation refer to a wide variety of behavioral areas. These include: language; posses-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 2461

Table XIV

Acculturation Measures in the Questionnaire

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1. What languages beside Kanuri do you speak?
2. Can you read? In what script can you read?
3. Do you have: a wrist watch, a bicycle, a radio, photographs of yourself, a horse?
4. Can you ride a bicycle?
5. Can you tell time?
6. What is the use of a wrist watch?
7. Which is more useful, a horse or a bicycle? Why?
8. Which would you rather have, a horse or a bicycle?
9. Do you smoke cigarettes?
10. Do you drink beer?
11. Do you fast during Ashem (Ramadan)?
12. Do you fast during Tsuro Mbulo (a minor fast)?
13. Do you wear charms (laya)?
14. Do you wear European-made shoes?
15. Do you wear European trousers?
16. Would you go to a European doctor if you were ill?
17. Which is more effective in curing disease, European medicine or drinking the ink which was used to write verses of the Koran (alo)?
18. Does a Kanuri doctor know how to set bones better than a European doctor?

    Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat jaundice better than a European doctor?

    Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat snake bite better than a European doctor?

    Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat head ache better than a European doctor?

    Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat small-pox better than a European doctor?

Table XIV (continued)

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Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat internal pain better than a European doctor?

19. If you had a complaint against a man, would you take him to court or would you take him before the Lowan or Ajia for sholo (arbitration)?

20. If you became rich and a man came to you and said that he needed a new kulugu (gown), would you give it to him?

21. Would you send your daughter to the European school?

22. What sort of work would you most like to do, if you could do anything you desired?

23. Which would you rather be: a truck driver, a Lowan, a dispenser (or doctor), or a Malam of the Koran?

24. Would you marry a woman who was not Kanuri?

25. Would you marry a Hausa woman? a Fulani woman? a Moslem Babur woman? a Moslem Yoruba woman?

26. Would you marry a Kanuri woman who had gone to school and who spoke English?

27. Would you let your wife go to work as a dispenser or a school-teacher?

28. Would you want your sons to attend the European school?

29. Would you rather have them go to a Koranic Malam or to the European school to study?

30. What would you most want your son to become?

125 177 sion, use, and knowledge of Western material culture; evaluations of the usefulness of such items; religious behavior; attitudes toward Western medical practices and the effectiveness of such treatment; attitudes toward traditional ways of arbitrating disputes and towards traditional forms of Kanuri generosity; attitudes toward preferred types of occupations for the individual being questioned and for his sons; attitudes toward Western education for both sons and daughters; attitudes toward marriage with women outside Kanuri culture and with acculturated women; attitudes toward behavior which should be permitted one's wife.

125 The forty-five remaining questions in the questionnaire-interview are concerned with various facets of the individual's life history. The initial twenty-five questions deal with the individual's wives and children, family of orientation and family of procreation, and his household. The information ob- 125 128 tained from a number of these questions provide the basis for many of the tables in the previous chapter, particularly those on kinship and household, where the sample used is that de- 125 scribed in the present sections. Many of the earlier questions provide important information on the relative positions of the groups and categories. Thus information on number of wives, whether they were kala yaskəs or zogors, size of yal, etc. reveal a great deal about each group and category. Fifteen other questions are concerned with friendships, visiting patterns, and eating arrangements, all factors in the position of a group

125 or category within the social structure. There are five miscellaneous questions at the end of the interview.

C. The Relationship between Social Structure and Acculturation.

121 An individual's position as a member of a social group or social category is considered to be the independent variable in the present study. The manner and the rate in which he becomes acculturated is considered to be dependent on his position in the social structure. It is possible to derive several general hypotheses from this basic view. These are:

1. Groups and categories making up the social structure of a community vary in their degree of acculturation.
2. Groups and categories in the social structure acculturate in differing areas of culture at different rates. These differences are determined by the relation of the particular group or category to a given aspect of culture (economics, political organization, etc.).

The above hypotheses are straightforward and easily tested by comparing various groups as to their relative degree of acculturation in several areas. They derive directly from the position that new behavioral alternatives are made available to certain groups and categories in the social structure, so that these groups show evidence of acculturation long before others. Furthermore, members of groups and categories become aware of new alternatives in certain areas of culture because their role

radio-owning groups knowledge of the Hausa language is almost unanimous. In addition, all of the NA Malams speak English (see Table XVI) as well, so that they can most benefit from possession of a radio, and in fact the entire group owns radios.

Many individuals own photographs of themselves, but once again the three groups who owned wrist watches, bicycles and radios also tend to have photographs of themselves. In the case of the Canteen Operators an extraneous factor enters. Five of the six Canteen Operators have made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and in the course of making the trip, have had passport photographs taken of themselves. Three groups, the Koranic Malams, the Kabuna, and the Low-status Individuals have never had photographs taken of them, and among the Talaka only one of the eight has had his photograph taken.

The last column in Table XVIII notes possession, or previous ownership of a horse. A horse is of course not an item of western origin. It is included here to provide a comparison with some of the Western items previously discussed, particularly the bicycle. In only four groups are there to be found individuals who have never owned a horse. Five of the Talaka have never owned a horse, and in fact none of the eight Talaka owns a horse at present. Two of the NA Malams have never owned horses and it is clear that for members of this group the expense of buying and keeping a horse is not the primary factor as it is for most of the lower class groups. Two other NA Malams own horses which they do not keep in Geidam as they have little use for them. In comparison, five of the six NA Malams own bicycles.

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*829 this respect, and the Aristocracy, with their high proportion
805 of complex answers (D) are the most acculturated. The Canteen
*463
*565 Operators are in the lower middle of the eight groups.

128 Just as mere possession of a wrist watch and knowledge of how to tell time were not as revealing as a question about the usefulness of a watch, so, too, possession of a bicycle and knowledge of how to ride a bicycle are less revealing than the
#177
825 attitudes that people hold toward the bicycle. In this case
*829 the individuals in the sample were asked to compare a bicycle
492 with a horse as to the relative usefulness of the two, and were
493 then asked which of the two they would rather own. A good bi-
[125] cycle and a good horse cost approximately the same price in Geidam, and are in a sense comparable. The results of this question appear in Table XXI. Most people thought the horse more useful (28), some chose the bicycle (9), and a number stated that the two served different functions (7). Among the reasons offered in favor of a horse were the following: the horse can travel in the bush and can go from one town to another; the horse is the more useful in traveling to other markets; the horse requires no repairs, is useful for racing and ceremonial activity; possession of a horse is more prestigeful. One craftsman stressed these latter qualities of a horse, saying, "if you ride a horse, everyone turns and looks at you. You're a big man." The reasons given in support of a bicycle include: a bicycle is more useful in the town; it's faster; it requires no care and little trouble; in particular it doesn't have to be fed

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 272]

114
123 a medium sized rural Kanuri town, learning the language (1) and making contacts among the local residents.

In approximately four months the writer could carry on interviews in the language, and by the end of the eighth, an outline of political and economic structure in the area was gained, plus some understanding of kinship, cultural values, and household economics. Although participant observation techniques continued until the end of the field trip, it was now deemed possible to introduce some quantitative techniques into data collection. For this purpose, questionnaires
114
125 were designed on market involvement of peasant cultivators, kinship behaviour norms, marriage preferences among tribes, ranking of traditional and non-traditional occupations and a scheduled interview was made up concerning household income and expenditure. A Kanuri assistant was hired to conduct the surveys on market involvement of peasant cultivators and kinship behaviour norms. In addition, he kept records on the crop production techniques and amounts harvested as well as daily intake of the staple grain food, for seventy-five farmers in three towns.

114 The complexity of Kanuri society makes generalizations based on intensive work in only one community extremely precarious. Thus other parts of Bornu were visited, especially the capital Maiduguri, and Geidam, a district capital in the northern part of the Emirate. Side trips to Dikwa and Biu Emirate and Damboa and Dematuru districts helped to broaden the perspectives of observation made on the basis of a long term stay in Magumeri. Innumerable visits on horseback to small
[184] hamlets helped in this respect as well. Finally, the variations possible in Kanuri social life were made even more apparent by the presence

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191 (1) An interpreter was employed for the first ten days and then departed leaving the writer and wife with only one person, the local school teacher, who could speak only a very little English.

592 supporting his widowed mother.

592 Although a complete census coverage of residence units,
125 in order to determine the range and variation of residence patterns
171 proved unfeasible,(1) personal observations and first-hand acquaintance with 25-30 households over a one-year period brought out somewhat similar conclusions to Smith's analysis of his Hausa census material.(2)

592 There are two general types of household groupings linked
571 to one another through time in a roughly cyclical process of fission
[596] and fusion. The first type is that of a man, wife or wives, and
[829] children and son's wives. This is an ideal pattern in the culture. In anthropological terms it is a patrilocal extended family organization with the possible addition of a servant or a tada njima (son of the house - like a son, but non-kin). From this traditionally valued structure two forms can emerge or develop. The son and/or servant may move off and set up his own household, either close by or in a distant locality depending upon political and economic factors. This is just about ready to happen in the diagram above. The son (7) has his own farm, wife, child and non-agricultural source of income, all independent of the compound head. If he decides on another wife he will find his father's compound cramping to his own expanding nuclear family unit requirements and move to a new location close by. Desire for autonomous headship of his own family grouping plus the possible squabbles between co-wives which must traditionally be suppressed before his own parents will also tend to determine his decision to move. In this particular case he will not move far

123 (1) The census was planned and arranged for but was given up for political reasons. The writer was assured by close friends that in the contemporary atmosphere of tax fears the census program would disturb ultimate rapport objectives in the community.
125 (2) Smith, M.G., op. cit. pp. 19-28.

595 iram to spouses living at that time in his compound. In addition he gives to his current wives presents of soap, perfume, clothes, etc. equal to about half the value of similar gifts given to the new bride. In practice this is extremely various, depending upon the wealth of the male, and his estimation of his present spouse(s)' potential jealousy and opposition over the new wife. One informant was observed who, after giving his wife a substantial cash gift (under half of the luwal-iram), matched the clothes given to his new bride one for one by gifts to his present wife. It is almost universally accepted that successive wives should be younger than one another. This is followed quite widely in practice, at least for the age difference between present wife (only one) and incoming wife. This insures that the authority and rank ordained by custom be represented by an age difference which always allows for a smoother operation of the principle that the wife already in the compound is kamu kura (senior wife).

595 632 162 [589] Frequency figures on polygyny from Magumeri town are atypical because of its position as District Headquarters. This means that a larger proportion of single males are present than is usual in rural areas, especially since Magumeri is one of the smaller District Headquarters, and the administrative personnel and their subordinates (these latter are often single young men) make up a larger element of the population than is commonly the case. The following table on number of wives is taken from figures gathered between July and November of 1956, given by 78 household heads in the towns of Magumeri, Chingowa, and Ngubura, which form a triangle to the south of Magumeri, each being

[125] [361]

[595] (1) Therefore these data were collected before the harvest of the 1956 crop which brings on the marrying season. The respondents ranged across an extremely wide range of occupations, but all kept up a compound and all worked farms near their towns.

563 Young Kanuri civil servants who are in closer contact with
829 Europeans than the peasant complain of the meagreness of European hos-
[554] pitality and the haughtiness of this group. Traditionally, Kanuri high status is associated with much hospitality and gift giving. The ultimate power of dismissal which the Europeans hold in their hands and the difficulty in understanding or living up to their different standards of performance, also tend to produce antagonism and resentment as well as the admission of high status to the European group.

This attitude toward Europeans was exemplified by one Kanuri civil servant who interjected his belief about the end of the world into a discussion of Kanuri past achievements in relation to their present status as a group in the world and Nigeria in particular. "When that day arrives (the end of the world)", he said, "all the machines of the Europeans, all their guns, their automobiles, aeroplanes, ships, radios, refrigerators, and their 'power' (arziyi, see below pp.225 -228) would be gone and the Kanuri will once again be a great nation and take all the
[555] Ibos for their slaves." The other four Kanuri participants in the conversation knew about the end of the world, but had never heard of this particular interpretation, which, however, they tended to believe because of the speaker's scholarly status as a reader and writer of Arabic.

125 Questionnaire data obtained from one hundred and forty-seven (1)
563 Kanuri adolescents (thirteen to nineteen years old) in Maiduguri from
829 the Senior Primary School and the Secondary School tend to support the qualitative material gathered separately. The boys were asked to rank

(1) There were originally one hundred and sixty-eight children in the school population who responded to the questionnaire, but data from twenty-one have been deleted for present purposes because of the membership in other than Kanuri groups. There is a possibility that some of the students did not report their tribal backgrounds correctly, which may have added to the spread of deviation in the responses.

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829 eighteen tribes (including "Europeans") on a printed sheet, using the following instructions, which were given in Kanuri.(1)

(1) Check the sheet as I read it through aloud and make sure you can all understand the printing. Only students who can read and speak Kanuri should take this test. Are there any questions about the printing of the words?

(2) If Allah were to give you all the power in the world to do anything you wished, from which of the following tribes (later occupations) listed on the sheet would you most like to obtain a fero (a virgin bride) for your wife? Make a mark (1) on the sheet beside that tribe, the tribe you would like second best, mark (2) and so on.

(3) You must choose all the tribes, not only the ones you like.

(4) You should also remember that when you put a very high number beside the tribe (or occupation) this means that you are saying that you really do not like this tribe (or occupation) at all, in fact you dislike it.

Since it is a Kanuri practice to rate people as "number one" or "number two" in terms of his position along some dimension such as political power, scholarly learning, etc., this type of rank ordering in data collection seemed to be more congruent with traditional modes of evaluation rather than other statistical devices which are commonly used for the same purpose, such as paired comparisons or the rating of judgements on some scale made up by the researcher. The results are presented in the table below.

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[128] It should be noted that the arrangement of choices is quite similar to that discussed earlier, the data for which was derived from field interviews with adult informants. Two Muslim groups, the Tubo and more strongly the Tuareg, are ranked low. This can be accounted for by their historical relation to the Kanuri as raiders and warring tribes,

(1) The questionnaire was administered by Kanuri teachers in the classrooms. Three European teachers were replaced by three Kanuri-speaking ones. These included the writer, his wife, and Mrs. A. Rosman. All participating Kanuri teachers took "dry runs" of the test themselves in an instruction session before giving it to their students.

[text continues on p.195]

571 aspire to higher positions in the Bornu political organization. They will be considered in greater detail later.

• 125 463 554 In order to assess more accurately current trends in occupational status among the young western educated group, the senior primary and secondary school population was asked to rank 55 occupations using the same "freedom of choice" instructions employed above for the questionnaire on the various ethnic groups. It was hoped that the methodology would elicit level of aspiration rather than level of achievement scores so that some objective measure of the status ratings of these occupations could be obtained. It is felt that the high position given to such status positions as Shehu and Waziri indicate that the boys were responding in terms of the actual prestige given to the status rather than judging the position by whether or not it was open to them personally. Although significant differences have not been analysed, some observable differences in the scores of the younger boys as compared to the older boys are suggestive, and therefore these data have been presented separately. The young boys (age 13-15) had African teachers while the older boys have among their teachers Europeans as well as Africans. As in the previous case the test was administered in the Kanuri language.

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463 554 184 Despite the high correlation between the two groups, it is possible that there are differences in the evaluation of high status occupations among the younger as compared to the older boys. This is indicated by the fact that of the twenty most highly rated occupations the younger boys average (cardinal) rank for European jobs was 9.7, while the older boys average (cardinal) rank for the same variety of job was 11.7. On the other hand, the younger boys average (cardinal)

[Text continues on p. 203]